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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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CONTENTS

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

- Nigeria's Audu Threatens 'Drastic Action' on Libyan Interference
(Ishaya Audu Interview; THE TIMES, 27 Nov 80) 1

ANGOLA

- Industry Council Studies Increased Production
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 24 Oct 80) 3

CAPE VERDE

- Scope of French Cooperation, Assistance Reviewed
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 24 Oct 80) 4

- Cooperation With Brazil Discussed
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 24 Oct 80) 6

- Cooperation With Cuba, Netherlands, Guinea-Bissau
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 24 Oct 80) 7

COMOROS

- Lack of Reaction to Kemal Appeal
(MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 31 Oct 80) 8

IVORY COAST

- Houphouet-Type Democracy Is Established
(JEUNE AFRIQUE, 15 Oct 80) 9

Diallo: 'Houphouetocracy', by Siradou Diallo
Profile of Houphouet, by Abdelaziz Dahmani
Houphouet Wants Democracy, by Sennen Andriamirado

- a - [III - NE & A - 120 FOUO]

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Houphouet Retains Leadership of Party (Jonathan Kolela; AFRIQUE-ASIE, 27 Oct 80)	15
Relations With France Said To Be Hot, Cold (AFRIQUE-ASIE, 27 Oct 80)	19
MALI	
Briefs Cotton Production Estimates	22
MAURITIUS	
Foreign Aid Needed After Fall in Sugar Production (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 31 Oct 80)	23
NAMIBIA	
Problems Confronting Bushmen in Namibia (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 3 Oct 80)	25
Strategic Significance of Uranium in Namibian Struggle (Augusta Conchiglia; AFRIQUE-ASIE, 29 Sep 80)	27
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	
Scope of French, International Cooperation Reviewed (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, 24 Oct 80)	34

- b -

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

NIGERIA'S AUDU THREATENS 'DRASTIC ACTION' ON LIBYAN INTERFERENCE

LD280937 London THE TIMES in English 27 Nov 80 p 9

[Interview with Nigerian Foreign Minister Ishaya Audu by Karan Thapar Lagos: "Nigerian Threat of Drastic Action Over Interference by Libya"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Nigeria is worried by the increasing Libyan involvement both around its frontiers and recently, within its own territory. "To say otherwise would be dishonest," Professor Ishaya Audu, the Nigerian foreign minister, said in an exclusive interview with THE TIMES.

"There is Libyan involvement in Nigeria. At this moment, there are a couple of senior Libyans who are massively purchasing food and other materials in Maiduguri (in Borno State), for shipment to Chad. This is not done with the knowledge or permission of the Nigerian Government," he said.

Three weeks ago, two Libyan fighter aircraft, allegedly searching for a third aircraft lost in the desert, were intercepted at Maiduguri and held for a week. The aircraft were released only after the Nigerian Government had made sure that they carried no arms.

Maiduguri is close to the Chad frontier, and the Kanuri people of that area have close links with their kin across the border.

Libya has recently been accused by several West African states of interfering within their borders, and Ghana, Gambia and Senegal have broken off diplomatic relations. "I sincerely hope that they will keep out of this country," the Nigerian foreign minister said, "but if they continue we will have to consider taking drastic action."

Professor Audu has frequently threatened that "if pushed" his country would use an oil embargo to bring South Africa "to its knees."

But he does not feel that Mr Ronald Reagan's presidential victory in any way makes prospects for the liberation of Namibia (South-west Africa) worse.

"Remember that it was the conservative Mrs Thatcher who delivered Zimbabwe to Mugabe. Reagan may well deliver Namibia," he said. "Our hope for Namibia

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is independence in 1981. Our hope for South Africa is the new decade. If it drags on to 2000, so be it.... Although I cannot imagine and cannot believe that by 2000 South Africa will not be a member of OAU (Organization of African Unity).

More specifically, on the use of the oil weapon, Professor Audu appeared to retreat from his earlier rhetoric. If the oil weapon is required to do the job, "then Nigeria will not hesitate," he said. But he added that it all depended on circumstances and that anyway.

It would appear, however, that at present Nigeria has no serious plans for such action, nor any strategy as to what to do in the eventuality of sanctions with its unsold oil.

On the subject of Anglo-Nigerian relations, the foreign minister was more openly critical. "From our point of view, the principal irritant is the treatment of Nigerian citizens in Britain," he said.

"I find myself accepting that there is a genuine, calculated harassment of Nigerians. This may be just because they are black, but often it is because people declare they are Nigerians."

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ANGOLA

INDUSTRY COUNCIL STUDIES INCREASED PRODUCTION

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Oct 80 p 2633

[Text] A full meeting on industrial problems was held from 2 to 4 October in Luanda at the Ministry of Industry, with a discussion of the 1981 technical and economic program on the agenda. This meeting was presided over by Minister of Industry Bento Ribeiro. The participants included Mr Lopo do Nascimento, foreign trade minister, several national directors and provincial delegates from the Ministry of Industry, and a representative of the department of economic development and planning of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) Central Committee, several factory directors and secretaries of the national trade unions in the heavy and light industry.

After a study of the problems, it was decided to considerably increase production levels for next year, especially in the area of food. An average increase of 45 percent is planned for the production of beverages, beer, pasta, corn flour, table oil and sugar.

In the area of light industry, production increases are planned for cloth and blanket manufacturing, tobacco and plywood.

Furthermore, the full council of the Ministry of Industry has called for a substantial production increase in the mounting of heavy and light vehicles. It is also planning to accelerate the production of tires (an increase of 26 percent compared to 1980), iron pipes (also a 26 percent increase), diamonds (14 percent) and radio and television sets.

The council has noted that the current shortage of consumer goods at various stages of trade is due to the insufficient distribution of import ceilings by the centralized structures, a fact which extremely complicates business life.

Moreover, the need to use all available means to protect the national industry was stressed. This would be accomplished by ensuring for it regular supplies of raw materials, by allowing it to enter technical assistance contracts and by easing its investments process.

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CAPE VERDE

SCOPE OF FRENCH COOPERATION, ASSISTANCE REVIEWED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Oct 80 p 2613

[Excerpts] On 20 to 21 October, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Cape Verde, Mr Pedro Pires, made an official visit to France just before the meeting, on 22 and 23 October in Paris, of the Joint Franco-Cape Verdian Commission. The joint commission meets once a year, alternatively in Paris and Praia. The last meeting took place on 29 and 30 October 1979 in Praia. There are no military agreements between Cape Verde and France. At the outset, the Cape Verdian authorities divided up the aid by geographical areas. Each of the principal organizations was given charge of an island and responsibility for arranging financing for various projects. After having been concentrated on São Nicolau, the French aid was then diversified to São Vicente and Santiago, the most populous island, and marginally to Brava. To this day, operations have essentially been the responsibility of the FAC (Fund for Aid and Cooperation), considering the poverty of the country. Several overtures have very recently been made by the CCCE (Central Fund for Economic Cooperation), which may soon take action in the sectors of coastal navigation, the hotel industry and cement. The greatest effort of the FAC has been in the area of underground water and rural development in general. The search for water in São Nicolau, after a difficult start, is a total success. The proposed solutions for extraction are realistic and not costly, and at the end of the present campaign, São Nicolau will have at its disposal 8000 cubic meters of water a day for its population as well as for irrigation. In 1980, an extensive DRS (Soil protection and restauration) program was undertaken in Santiago, with boring and development of irrigated areas, the construction of nematological and veterinary laboratories and the establishment of a national office of water management.

In São Nicolau, France is also assisting the artisanal fishing sector, under direct Cape Verdian management, and participating in the development of irrigated areas.

As a follow-up to the 1979 study of the aerial cartography of the island (done by the IGN (National Geographical Institute) a master plan for rural management should be worked out starting this year. This action is essential for the setting up of a 5-year development plan. Furthermore, work has been proceeding for two years in the field of agronomic research and the fight against insect plaques.

In the area of culture, French action began by assuming responsibility for the radio coverage of the archipelago (FM and short wave), an operation which is

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presently underway. The FAC is also taking part in the construction for a center for teacher training (Santa Catarina). Additionally, the French Education and Cultural Center in Mindelo provides adult refresher courses in French. This year will also mark the beginning of the installation of a type B earth station (a joint PTT-Cooperation action).

Moreover, the Ministry of Cooperation will take charge of 40 Cape Verdian grant-holders annually.

Main Cooperation Projects Scheduled

The São Nicolau operation in the area of underground water research and water conveyance has shown that no water management structure previously existed in Cape Verde. Aid was granted for the establishment of such a structure. Exterior telecommunications are extremely difficult, a heavy handicap for an island country. An underwater cable will soon be laid between Brazil, Senegal and Portugal. Since Cape Verde could not succeed in having it diverted to Praia, the French PTT proposed to subsidize an earth station. The FAC assistance will bear on the setting up of the facilities and personnel training.

Furthermore, a master plan for rural management has been made possible by the IGN 1979 photographic survey. It is of the utmost importance for the establishment of the first Cape Verdian 5-year plan. Other operations will still ensue from the work of the IGN (urban cartography, search for springs lost to the sea). An extensive program on renewable energy sources is also foreseen.

In total, the financing given by the FAC to Cape Verde from 1976 to October 1980 amounts to 40.9 million francs, of which 9.7 million will go for underground water research; 6.65 million for radio coverage of the archipelago; 4.75 million for the agricultural development of São Nicolau; 3.3 million for an earth station, and 2.6 million for artisanal fishing.

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CAPE VERDE

COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL DISCUSSED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Oct 80 p 2613

[Text] From 12 to 22 October Cape Verdian Foreign Affairs Minister Abilio Duarte was in Brazil where he visited, most notably, Brasilia, São Paulo and Salvador.

A developing country, Brazil can give Africa the benefit of its long experience in the area of rural development and public works, Mr Duarte indicated on 15 October. He has come out in favor of South-South cooperation. He also announced that Praia had the political desire to use the 5 million dollar line of credit offered last year by Brasilia. The Cape Verdians will study the use of this credit next November at the São Paulo trade fair.

The minister also explained that his government was ready to do anything in its power to help and protect Cape Verdian communities abroad (in the United States, Brazil and Europe). Mr Carlos Alberto Santos Silva, secretary general of his Ministry, stated to the AFP [French Press Agency] that there are more Cape Verdians living abroad than in Cape Verde. He confirmed the great importance of the remittances of these emigrants for the economy of the archipelago. Furthermore, a joint communique indicated that Brazilian President João Figueiredo agreed to make an official visit to Cape Verde at a date to be scheduled later. Mr Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro, Brazilian foreign Affairs minister, was also invited to Praia.

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CAPE VERDE

COOPERATION WITH CUBA, NETHERLANDS, GUINEA-BISSAU

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Oct 80 p 2614

[Text] The 1980-1983 program for cooperation between Cape Verde and the Netherlands and the exhaustive list of financed projects were the subjects of a 2-day meeting between the delegations of the two countries which concluded on 27 October in Praia. The Cape Verdian-Dutch cooperation will basically deal with a program for the development of the island of São Antão and will include, most notably, the areas of health, fishing, energy and food. The average amount of aid the Netherlands will grant Cape Verde is approximately 5 million florins annually.

In addition, the joint Guinean-Cape Verdian commission also met on 7 October in Praia to study cooperation between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde in the area of transportation. The two countries jointly operate a maritime transport company, Nagicave, which links the ports of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde to several Portuguese ports and to southern Spain, Rotterdam and Hamburg. Recently, Nagicave contacted the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, seeking financing for the construction of two additional ships. It plans to use them between the ports of southern Europe, Angola, São Tome and Principe, Senegal and Gambia.

Furthermore, a Cuban delegation led by the vice chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation, came to Praia in order to take part in the third meeting of the joint Cuban-Cape Verdian commission. The delegation, including several representatives of the state department, will be received by Mr Pedro Pires, prime minister of Cape Verde, and will hold working meetings with the ministers of health, education and culture.

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COMOROS

LACK OF REACTION TO KEMAL APPEAL

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 31 Oct 80 p 2689

[Text] The exambassador to France from the Comoros Mr Said Ali Kemal's going over to the opposition, and the establishment under his chairmanship of a National Committee of Public Safety which has asked for the resignation of President Abdallah (see 17 October MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS, p 2566), apparently has stirred up scarcely any political passion on the local Comorian scene. A correspondent writes us that it can even be said that it disappointed the vast majority of the population.

Asked for their reaction on Radio Comoros, two Comorian public personalities, Minister Mouhtar Ahmed and (roving) Ambassador Omar Tamou used almost the same words in expressing their opinion that the step taken by Said Ali Kemal was senseless and without political significance. Their feeling can be summarized in this fashion:

Mr Said Ali Kemal's statement and the political step he took are senseless and groundless taking into account the current Comorian political circumstances of which the person in question seems to be perfectly unaware; they do not respond to any need of the people, who have overwhelmingly and democratically entrusted their fate to President Ahmed Abdallah. Nothing up to now has shown that this trust has diminished; quite the opposite. On the contrary they indicate a lack of understanding of the Comorian social psychology which it would be in Mr Said Ali Kemal's interest to get to know. Having almost never worked in this country, it would be in the exambassador's interest to come and get to know it better if he is going to say that he wants to guide or serve this people: this was the gist of what the two public figures being questioned said.

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IVORY COAST

HOUPHOUET-TYPE DEMOCRACY IS ESTABLISHED

Diallo: 'Houphouetocracy'

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 15 Oct 80 pp 38-42

[Article by Siradou Diallo: "Houphouët, Is It Democracy?"]

[Text] After Félix Houphouët-Boigny's reelection to the Presidency of the Republic--which came as no surprise--the Ivorians are getting ready to elect their new deputies, next month. Because there will no longer be a single register of candidates issued by the single party, all major Ivorian can stand for public office, according to unprecedented rules.

It is only then that we will be able to judge the aptitude of the Ivory Coast to live democratically. Not that Houphouët's reelection could be contested. But we can safely declare that if the "Old Man" had dreamed of having opponents, there were none. No doubt, because everyone may be held accountable in the Ivory Coast, except for Félix Houphouët-Boigny. And it is Houphouët, himself, who has taken the first steps towards Ivory Coast's democratization, upsetting the party, throwing "its" barons out on the street and publicly dismissing them.

Our special correspondents to the Ivory Coast have attempted to learn a lot about this "democracy, according to the Chief." Siradou Diallo describes how the "Old Man" has planned the redeployment of his loyal followers. As for these past few days, they content themselves to wait, either for the axe to fall or for their promotion. Abedelaziz Dahmani, himself, has waded into Treichville's back alleys and revealed that many Abidjanians, if they feel up to democracy, believe their leaders do not have the same aptitude. From these two viewpoints, Sennen Andriamirado comes up with a diagnosis: The Ivorian democracy, for the moment, resembles a "houphouëtocracy."

The curtain had no sooner fallen on the noise and fanfare of the PDCI's [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast Seventh Congress (see JEUNE AFRIQUE No 1031)] than the Ivorian political class resumed the duty of carrying out its resolutions. It will need all the nerve it can muster, a lot of breath and all its vitality. Because, with the 12 June National Council's electoral kick-off, it appears that its electoral course is not swift. It is a true marathon, whose first check point

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should be cleared 12 October with the election of Mr Félix Houphouët-Boigny to the presidency of the Republic for the fifth consecutive time. An election with no surprises, but not without interest. Because, at 75 years of age (at least officially), the retiring Chief-of-State, who describes himself as a mere "Yamoussoukro farmer," has displayed an astonishing physical and intellectual vitality. All along these 3 congress days (20 Sept - 1 Oct), the "Old Man" has held out to prove that he is well, still solid and that the hour of succession has not yet sounded.

Houphouët has clearly demonstrated that, until word to the contrary, he is the one and only commander aboard Ivory Coast's ship. It is in this perspective that he has proceeded to reshuffle the PDCI's administrative organs. Therefore, the political office has been reduced from 70 members to 32; the administrative committee from 200 members to 100, while a new organ was created in the political office, an executive committee, charged with enforcing and implementing the directives of the political office. The executive committee is composed of 9 members, all university students, seven of them between 36 and 46 years of age. Therefore, among them, four enter the political arena for the first time. Former MEECI (Movement of Students and Pupils of the Ivory Coast, affiliated to the PDCI) also wish to reward their precocious recruitment to the party ranks.

Meanwhile, with no surprise, the rejuvenation, just as the party's renewal, has not known the amplitude and brutality expected by the majority of observers. This is because Félix Houphouët-Boigny, loyal to his habits, prefers to operate the change by successive touches, rather than by spectacular blows. He prefers aesthetic surgery, which improves the design, without destroying the architecture and its lines, to the final and irretrievable amputation. Thus, old comrades, such as Konan Kanga, Samba Ambroise, Amadou Bokoum, Alcide Kacou and many others, all ousted from the political office's armchairs, for the most part, find solace in the administrative committee's folding chairs.

One of the comrades from the old days, such as Marcel Laubhout, tired and wishing to retire from the party, has seen himself replaced by his own son, Gilles, in political office, a young administrator about 30 years old.

In the complex political Alchemy, the "Old Yamoussoukro Witch-Doctor," being no doubt, the only one who knows all ingredients, seems to have taken into consideration all regional, ethnic, demographic, age and profession balancing criteria. His intimates say that on the night of 30 September to 1 October, locked alone in an apartment located on the 24th floor of the Ivory Hotel where he resided during the 3 days of congress, he remained awake during the night in the middle of a pile of dossiers. He was looking for elements which would allow him to know who to eliminate, who to promote, according to what criteria and with what political consequences. The lists presented to congress members in the morning of 1 October prove that he left nothing to chance.

And yet, Houphouët will have made malcontents, all the same. Many young wolves with long and sharp teeth who had taken a liking to the limelights and who suddenly find themselves relegated to the background, have difficulty in disguising their dejection: "Houphouët has kicked us one time too many," confided one of those abandoned on the roadside of renewal. "Indeed, the Chief-of-State has recruited a few young, well informed people, as well as activists," declared somebody else. "Only," he hastens to add "they're nothing but small fry among old crocodiles, not to mention that they don't have, either a political foundation or practical experience." They declare in unison that you can sum it up by saying that the operative criterium for selection was, above all, that of unconditional support to the Chief-of-State.

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But, can we seriously blame a leader for supporting himself on people loyal to him? Indeed, the unhappiness of the forgotten ones could constitute a disquieting factor. Especially when they could combine forces with those of other cadres, evicted from State societies or with those whose wages, in retained societies, are found from now on, balanced with those of the public office. But, no doubt foreseeing this considerable risk, the "Old Man" has created three great commissions in the party: Education, equipment and economic and financial affairs. These three commissions apparently are to occupy, each in its specialty, the cadres which could not find a place in the party's administrative organs.

Because the Ivorian Chief-of-State has the talent to resurrect and find a place for the members of his Inner Circle, those who hadn't been on a level with the party could be given a second chance through the doors if not the lateral windows, opening into the economic and social council or once again into embassies and, who knows, into the National Assembly or the government. Provided they know how to be patient, all are assured to get what they want: In the board of directors of a private company, for example. When they were in power they made good deals which today keep them safe from want. They own plantations, transportation and business companies and an increasing number of shares in power plants. Doesn't this new business bourgeoisie who lives in luxurious Cocody and Marcory mansions control today almost half the capital of corporations established in the Ivory Coast?

A good example is that of Philippe Yacé, president of the National Assembly for 20 years and the party general-secretary for 15 years. This post which had allowed him to control the political machinery has been cancelled.

Sixty years old, a frail profile on ascetic features with severe and piercing eyes which always scrutinize you from behind the cover of thick lenses, Yacé truly was President Houphouët-Boigny's right arm. Number one loyal among loyal he became the Ivorian Chief-of-State's shoulders (see Jeune Afrique No 1028). Except that his brutal frankness and direct approach has earned him numerous and powerful enemies.

A scapegoat, at times aware and willing, he will have played his role to the end without faltering. Despite poisoned darts fired at him during the Seventh Congress Plenary Session and, above all, during closed door sessions he remained with rock like impassiveness, courageous and dignified.

Indeed, it was in 1978 that Yacé's sharp rising was stopped. President Houphouët-Boigny, secluded in Geneva for 4 months, had entrusted him with the delicate mission of organizing and supervising municipal elections. It was then that he was accused of having profited, by placing his own men at the head of municipalities and--high-treason--for urging the ousting of the "Old Man" in order to take his place or, at the very least, to have behaved from then on, not as a loyal second but, as a rival.

History is still too recent to judge dispassionately. It's because of this that Yacé was the Seventh Congress' great loser.

Overcome, the heir apparent, who suffers from stomach ulcers, for which he underwent a serious operation about 4 years ago was also not able to hold the seat of power up to the end. Taken ill at the beginning of the long and tiring private

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session of 1 October, the president of the National Assembly did not attend the closing session of the congress. Taken by ambulance to Treichville's CHU (University Hospital Center) he should, meanwhile, have one consolation: President Houphouët-Boigny was among the first visitors to his bedside. Also, the Chief-of-State extended a token of affection to his old heir apparent, going as far as to refuse to have a picture taken of the new political office, the day after the congress: "An esteemed member is absent" he said. "We must wait for the picture until his return."

Meanwhile, Mr Yacé is not the only one to have been knocked down by the unexpected turn of events imposed upon the Ivorian political scene these past months. During one of the pregress sessions, which began in September in Yamoussoukro, M'Bahia Blé Kouadio, Minister of the Armed Forces for 17 years, also had a crisis. Paralyzed, he is now receiving treatment in France.

All this means that Philippe Yacé's adversaries were wrong to rejoice. First, because he hasn't been completely eliminated from the administrative team. Even if from the second position he has been lowered to the third, in protocol, behind the immovable Minister of State, Auguste Denise.

In any case, the new party administrative body should take care. Sitting well back in his presidential seat, with the wheel firmly in his hands. Félix Houphouët-Boigny attentively in silence, observes the smallest signs of deviation in the succession route. Beware the first one who dares to rise above the others without waiting for his turn.

Profile of Houphouët

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 15 Oct 80 pp 40-41

[Article by Abdelaziz Dahmani: "The Old Man Settled His Accounts"]

[Text] I needed a lot of patience to "create the atmosphere" and make a wise, retirement age Ivorian, who appears to be from the Upper-Volta region, talk. He eventually gave me his impressions of the PDCI-RDA [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally] congress's achievements. This conversation occurred in a Lebanese shopkeeper's back room in Treichville, a popular Abidjanian neighborhood, a few days after the congress.

African wisdom now and then assumes a theatrical style. Mr Kouassi blurted out, at that time: "The old lion (Houphouët) has finally been rushed. It was about time. He was obliged to show his claws by not making use of them. That was enough to make some of his well fed sheep to take off like rabbits. But, I'm afraid that he has excluded and disavowed some members of the old team only to replace them with starving jackals, under the pretext that they are young and competent. For the moment, their only calling card is their apparent loyalty to Houphouët."

I quoted these remarks to a student I met at the "Calao" terrace, a coffee shop after the manner of the Plateau, the business district. "My" student, Blaise, shrugged his shoulders, not very convinced: "Houphouët is a political animal. But he has retained all his lucidity and he doesn't have the same claws of years ago. He lets himself go with sentimentality proper to his age. At 80 years of age (officially 75), he keeps excellent dossiers, which may cause damage if they are exposed.

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The last scandal--not the most important one--is the parking meter scandal which was hastily covered up during the congress.

"Yes," I observed "but currently he has a new air of freedom, of democracy." My student, a State scholarship holder, gets angry: "You are dreaming or you have your eyes closed. We have watched a hocuspocus show during this congress. We remain under the single party system and 26 out of the 32 members of the new political office still belong to the old one. And you call this change! Houphouët only sacked those who have attempted to establish connections, to make a name for themselves in order to succeed him. You have seen with what severity he attacked the multiparty system, by reducing it to nothing but a dangerous ethnic resurrection. This is not flattering." Another Ivorian from the Air Ivory cadre spoke to me about the "congress of dupes."

But not everybody judges the PDCI-RDA administrators this severely. Some are even astonished at Houphouët's remarkable health. He read his report for 3 consecutive hours without ever correcting himself...and without glasses. During the closing day, 1 October he didn't leave the presidential chair from 10 in the morning till 8 in the evening. Later he participated in the closing ceremonies and for 2 hours, confronted dozens of journalists.

During this press conference, Houphouët appeared lucid and bitter towards the West "which does not have the will to defend its friends," and leaves, everywhere, "the doors opened to the Russians." In fact, the Soviets alone seem to know what the Africa of tomorrow will represent, with all its raw material resources.

Meanwhile, with the fall of cacao and coffee prices, the squandering and corruption, the Ivory Coast is passing through a period of skinny cows. This seriously disturbs the very strong european colony, in great part, French (more than 50,000 people).

Democratization and its new consequence, "ivorization" are equally frightening, since one also fears "xenophobia" manifestations. A brave lady has even told me: "The Blacks of Treichville and other popular districts 'loiter' ever more around the area of the Plateau and even at Cocody, the residential district!" This person's observation is not surprising. The "White" of Abidjan is about to lose his arrogance.

Meanwhile, many Ivorians don't disguise a certain disappointment. It is true that political changes were decided last month during Yamoussoukro's "precongress" but, as an African ambassador, belonging to the moderates, says: "The very harsh judgement of President Houphouët-Boigny, the very frank critique of the system and its weaknesses are not translated by equally important and desired changes. I believe that the President has wanted more [than anything else] to settle his accounts with those who have tried to succeed him in his lifetime..."

Houphouet Wants Democracy

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 15 Oct 80 p 42

[Article by Sennen Andriamirado: "Democracy According to the Chief"]

[Text] The Ivorians are living through a historical turning point: Free presidential elections of 12 October; free legislative elections of 9 and 23 November;

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free municipal elections of 30 November. In short, the learning of democracy, twenty years after independence. Also an admission, a contrario that, up to now the Ivory Coast was not...democratic.

All has emanated from one man, Félix Houphouët-Boigny himself who, in December 1979 and in June 1980, proclaimed: "If the party wants to survive, it must respect the elementary rules of true democracy." But, which democracy? The one of the multi-party system? Houphouët rejected that one because, in his eyes, it will recreate ethnic antagonism. The reason for that, he states, is that democracy must be exerted at the heart of a single party. He differs in this from his comparable, old rival, Senegalese Leopold Sedar Senghor. Democracy, according to Senghor is hellenic, latin, "modern". It needs the competitive coexistence of different and opposing political currents. Democracy, according to Houphouët is the village system. It demands that the community be one but all tendencies can be expressed.

Question: Can democracy exist within a single party? A priori, no. Because it is Monolithic and totalitarian in essence. The party is, in any event, the property of the administrative machinery. In the Ivory Coast, however, Houphouët states that the single party can and must be democratic. One cannot doubt his sincerity. In the twilight of his career he has no need to suddenly resort to demagoguery.

And it is true that, for the first time, the Ivorians will be able to choose their representatives from among a limited number of candidates. But, before its application, the democratic principle is maybe already tainted.

The "Old Man", no doubt, sent barons and other mandarins back to his electors. But all those who have grown under his wing have, in 20 years acquired a (social and financial) weight, such that they cannot be assimilated by the Ivorian mass. For if Houphouët was inspired by Mao to launch "his" cultural and renewal revolution, "his" democracy, he has omitted to profer the word of order: fire on the general staff. Tomorrow, after the elections the new ones will behave as the old ones. Worse, a number among them will be no more than the old ones.

Ivorian democracy is limited, indeed, to the freedom of speech, to the principle of choice given the Ivorians. And, if the choice is not completely free, it's not Houphouët who limited it. This limit is imprecise, indefinable, mechanistic: In the Ivory Coast, as in other areas, we have already been very used to--we Africans--to elect those already in power.

This very limit explains why Félix Houphouët-Boigny was the only candidate for the presidency. He, himself wanted to create other candidatures. Nobody dared to run. Or, rather, nobody thought for an instant that the immovability of the "Old Man" could be put in doubt. Because the Ivorian Houphouët, the "Yamoussoukro peasant" is not a political man like others. He is the head of the family; he is the Chief of the village; only Chief [nothing more], in the African meaning of the role. Uncontested, because he is uncontestable, untouchable, invulnerable.

The "Old Man" knows it. And he had taken no risk in preaching democracy. He doesn't fear democracy because it cannot be attained. Everything happens around him, below him, at the feet of the pedestal where he is perched. From its top he observes his people. All world is at the same level, except him. Behold! Democracy according to Houphouët. We can't help it but call it a "houphouëtocracy."

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IVORY COAST

HOUPHOUET RETAINS LEADERSHIP OF PARTY

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 27 Oct 80 pp 44-46

[Article by Jonathan Kolela: "'Keeping Control'"]

[Text] The political restructuring in Ivory Coast which was announced at Katiola nearly a year ago on 7 December 1979, on the occasion of the celebrations commemorating independence, has just ticked off two important stages, the 7th Congress of the PDCI-RDA (Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally) from 29 September to 1 October, and the presidential election of 12 October, which saw the reelection of Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the only candidate in the contest, reelected with 99.99 percent of the validated votes.

These two events come before the legislative elections of next 9 November and the municipal election of 30 November which, in accordance with the guidelines decided on at the time of the national council of 12 June and confirmed by the congress, will see candidates vying freely with each other, since the designation of candidates up to that time had been the prerogative of the party's higher authorities. Evidently the 7th Congress of the PDCI-RDA marked out the objectives and limits of this restructuring. In this regard, one can already draw some lessons and highlight the questions otherwise passed over in silence at the time of the congress or at least to which clear and definitive answers were not provided.

The main lesson is that Houphouet-Boigny, who is past 75 (he officially celebrated his 75th birthday on 20 October), has decided to keep control of things and of running the party at a time when the politically-involved layer of Abidjan, betting on his advanced age and his health troubles, made him out to be on his way out. "People came to 'bury the old man,'" someone attending the congress told us, "but it is he who buried his challengers."

The first victim of this turnaround quite obviously was Philippe Yace, 60 years old, the president of the National Assembly since independence and the "unremovable" secretary general of the party. A faithful number two, a kingpin figure inside and outside the party in certain dazzling promotional efforts but also in "delicate missions" (people still remember the role ascribed to him in the so-called "plot" affair of 1963 which aborted) in which the "Old Man" did not want to be directly mixed up, Yace had been elevated to the rank of heir apparent in spite of fierce competition. By taking the title of party secretary general away from him (the post was abolished), the last congress brought him back to the level of being merely "one candidate among many for the succession," to repeat the expression of a political observer in Abidjan.

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The disgrace of Yace, who people in the Ivorian capital maintain is the Elysee's favorite candidate to succeed Houphouet-Boigny, is a singular contrast to the breakthrough of Konan Bedie. Named counselor to the chairman of the World Bank after the July 1977 upsurge of demands in the area of social welfare, the former minister of economy and finance is in a good situation because he is right back in his seat in the new political bureau, reduced from 70 to 32 members. Rather than sticking out in an exposed position (by getting himself elected to the executive committee, which has nine members, for example), the confirmation of his status in the political bureau gives him a privileged position for waiting and maneuvering.

As for the actual process of "democratization," the measures decided on by the congress give rise to the feeling in the man in the street and particularly in the intelligentsia and among young people that the task remains unfinished. Of course one plunge was taken--which perhaps will be reflected in other areas--when for the first time in 20 years the PDCI-RDA activists were themselves able to freely name their secretaries general for subsections (grass roots cadres) last July (see AFRIQUE-ASIE number 220); 55 percent of the former ones were defeated. Will this same phenomenon of being "fed-up" occur at the time of the forthcoming legislative and municipal elections? It is doubtful. Do not the individuals who have been able these last 20 years to accumulate fame and fortune and set up reliable networks of influence start off ahead of time with a considerable advantage? And furthermore does not the "democratization" phenomenon in progress risk suffering from the fact that the PDCI-RDA remains the sole party represented on the political scene, at a time when other organizations or factions increasingly aspire--outside the country for the moment--to participate in political struggle?

The 7th Congress of the PDCI-RDA also provided the occasion for making an assessment in the economic area. If one believes the official figures, it is not a negative one. What in fact does one find? In 20 years, cocoa production is said to have gone from 85,000 to 350,000 tons (Ivory Coast thus becoming the top world producer), coffee from 135,000 to 280,000 tons (number three world producer), and pineapple from 20,000 to 280,000 tons (of which 100,000 is fresh pineapple and 180,000 canned). Furthermore, Ivory Coast produces 140,000 tons of bananas, 150,000 tons of palm oil, 55,000 tons of coconut, 19,000 tons of latex, 143,000 tons of cotton, added to which are considerable food crops: yams, plantain-type bananas, cassava, millet, corn, rice and soon soybeans.

The per capita consumption of fish has nearly doubled (13 kilos per inhabitant in 1960, as against 25 today) in spite of their scarcity in the inland plateau. And in a short time Ivory Coast could well become the number two world exporter of canned tuna, behind Japan.

A Keynote Speech

In 1960 industry included about 60 firms who together achieved a turnover of 13 billion francs. In 1978-1979, 500-plus Ivorian firms had a turnover of 600 billion and employed 65,000 people. What with the near-term development of petroleum deposits and, further into the future, of Mount Klahoyo iron ore, laterite nickel, and Ity gold deposits, there is no doubt that new impetus will be given to Ivorian industry, which already ranks importantly within francophone Africa.

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As for infrastructure, the road network extends over more than 3,000 kilometers of paved road and more than 40,000 kilometers of dirt roads, while 20 years before only the Abidjan-Bouake, Abidjan-Boisso, and Abidjan-Abengourou main roads were asphalted. Abidjan airport traffic has increased tenfold in the area of passenger travel and eightfold for freight, while domestic air traffic (Air-Ivoire) has gone up from 7,000 passengers in 1960 to 160,000 for the first eight months of 1980.

Even if poverty remains great and amenities clearly insufficient, progress has been recorded in the areas of telephone service and water supply in the departmental capitals and in certain subprefectures.

The school system includes 800,000 students in primary schools, 120,000 in secondary schools, 45,000 in technical schools and 9,000 in higher education. In the health area, progress has been achieved although "medical outreach" is still clearly too deficient. In 1960 there were 120 doctors, 9 pharmacists, 20 midwives, and 800 more or less qualified nurses. Today the country has 400 doctors, 85 pharmacists, 60 dental surgeons and 9,000 hospital beds more than a third of which are in maternity hospitals.

President Houphouet-Boigny did not fail to refer to these diverse achievements in the keynote speech he made at the 7th Congress. But neither did the chief of state fail to point out mistakes which have been made. First and foremost on the political plane: "As economic and social progress was unfolding," he stated, "the combative ardor of activist men and women and especially of cadres was becoming dulled. The pure current of the ideal was getting lost in the swamp of private interests and self-centered ambitions."

To check this notorious shortcoming of political officials, the administration promised that the one-slate election system would be abandoned. Voting at the legislative level as well as within the party apparatus will be done openly from now on.

To insure greater effectiveness of the party machinery, Felix Houphouet-Boigny asked the congress for and received a certain number of reforms. Actual leadership of the movement will henceforth be back with Houphouet-Boigny himself, who will be assisted by an executive committee. Three members will be made specially responsible for party finances. They will have to give regular accountings. This arrangement hopefully would be able to avoid future repetition of the practices of these last years during which the principal party officials were not in a position to supply the slightest financial assessment.

Furthermore, three committees (social affairs, economic and financial affairs, and transportation and urbanization) calling extensively on different socio-professional groups will be set up to make suggestions to the executive committee.

In the economic and financial area Houphouet-Boigny and the congress pointed out two fundamental errors: the proliferation of state enterprises, and the carelessness with which negotiations to establish six sugar complexes were carried out. Regarding the first error, the risks run in the public sector as a whole because of the measures decided on are known (see AFRIQUE-ASIE, number 220-221). That the managers of certain enterprises of this kind have committed abuses in setting

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their own salaries or that they have given themselves up as guilty of embezzlement would not on a strictly economic basis justify discontinuing 28 out of 35 state enterprises. In the short term a decision to do this might certainly contribute to stopping the financial loss. In the longer term it runs the risk of proving to be catastrophic for the Ivorian economy and, when all is said and done, of only profiting the private sector, where foreign interests are largely predominant.

Regarding the sugar complexes, Houphouet-Boigny confirms what we had pointed out when he spoke of "excessively short payback periods, overcharging, conceptual flaws, lack of spare parts, management being placed in the hands of those promoting the projects themselves, some of whom behaved scandalously," all this resulting in "our producing non-competitive sugar at a price above the world price. Having three of these complexes checked over by independent experts confirmed overcharging of 34 billion CFA Francs."

What Ivorianization?

Excesses like these will undoubtedly impel the government in the future to make a clearer distinction between, on the one hand, the liberalism to which it states it is loyal, and, on the other hand, out-and-out racketeering and an absence of control which can only benefit foreign companies.

According to numerous people who attended the congress, even if Houphouet-Boigny was right in vigorously denouncing certain afflictions Ivory Coast suffers from, on the other hand, his analysis sometimes seemed to take shortcuts when he touched on subjects as important as educational system reform and the "Ivorianization" of cadres or also evils as serious as corruption. "Undoubtedly nobody is more concerned than the Ivorian chief of state to find adequate solutions to the problems met with by young people;" a young Abidjan university student told us, "the efforts agreed on for the development of the educational system are testimony of that. Be that as it may, to recognize, as the president has done, that 'we have copied the French educational system without sufficiently taking into account our own priority needs' in no way allows us to lapse into Malthusianism and natural selection." The young lady with whom we were speaking added, "It is certainly important to try to reverse the current situation that favors literary, legal and economic backgrounds too much, to the detriment of scientific education. But it is even more important to keep integrating more young people and more not so young people into the school system. Now then, certain restrictive measures decided on during these last years, and which the reform being prepared is in danger of strengthening, turn their back on this priority goal."

The Ivorianization of cadres probably deserves a more thorough assessment as well. It would then be realized that those hundreds of jobs filled today by participants in foreign assistance efforts (at prohibitive cost) could already be handed over to sometimes more qualified Ivorian nations. As for corruption, President Houphouet-Boigny has denounced it, making it clear that "this evil of the century spares no country, no continent." Having said that, this phenomenon reaches such vast proportions in Ivory Coast that merely referring to vague measures to suppress it is no longer enough to reassure or convince young people. Unanimous public opinion feels that more energetic measures are required to stamp out this evil at all levels of the State's political and economic activity.

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18

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IVORY COAST

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE SAID TO BE HOT, COLD

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 27 Oct 80 p 47

[Article by J.K.: "Hot and Cold"]

[Text] As he was opening his press conference Wednesday 1 October in the receiving rooms of the Republic's presidential residence at the close of his party's congress, the Ivorian chief of state knew that he would inevitably be asked about the state that relations between his country and Paris were in. The rumors, insinuations, and denials that are not really denials have ended up leaving observers with the impression of a certain tension between Abidjan and Paris. The clarity of President Houphouet-Boigny's response, the order in which his arguments were presented, and even his choice of words leave one thinking that his response had been given much thought if not actually written out. Relations between Paris and Abidjan are in Houphouet-Boigny's eyes "privileged" relations, even though that adjective was not uttered at any specific point. And relations between him and President Giscard d'Estaing are "marked by the greatest cordiality." The Ivorian chief of state, for whom "there is no matter of dispute between France and Ivory Coast, went on to discuss the "Bokassa affair" at great length, not without having first stressed that "Ivorians are not interested in Bokassa." Apparently therefore his answer seemed to be aimed less at his countrymen than at foreign reporters--particularly French ones, of whom there were many in the room.

Recalling the reasons, humanitarian ones in his opinion, which led him after consulting the political bureau to carry out the desperate request of Catherine Bokassa--who feared the worst regarding her husband--Houphouet-Boigny, not always convincingly, refuted the main points made by the rumors going around about the attitude of Ivorian authorities in this affair. "Ivorian leaders have better things to do than to monitor Bokassa's telephone," is the gist of what Houphouet-Boigny pointed out. "The ex-emperor, along with other exiles condemned to death who have been allowed to have the benefit of Ivorian political asylum, had committed himself to make no attempts from the territory of Ivory Coast against anyone whatsoever. He did not honor this commitment."

Houphouet-Boigny deeply deplores this episode having been "exploited for domestic French political ends," just as he regrets more and more that in France the clash of ideas is giving way to "politics fit for the garbage can."

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The same indignant story is heard at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where, several days earlier, Simeon Ake, a member of the political bureau with portfolio, had with visible irritation thrown out at us: "Relations between our two countries (France and Ivory Coast) are excellent; there is nothing to add to that." At the French Embassy, where they profess to be "amazed by this whole campaign," on the other hand they express satisfaction at what good relations and freedom of expression exist between the two countries. Michel Dupuch, who succeeded the Gaullist Raphael-Leygues in the post of ambassador and who is said to be politically close to the Elysee, does not hesitate, regarding the Bokassa affair and the cooling of relations between Paris and Abidjan, to talk about "newspaper silliness." He takes note of the fact that, on the contrary, cooperation between the two countries is constantly expanding.

Some 4200 French personnel for foreign aid efforts, 3900 of them teachers, work in Ivory Coast. To this figure ought to be added 2000 recruited outside Ministry of Cooperation channels. Out of the 800 extra posts requested by the Ivorian Government, it has been possible to have only 150 supplied. In all Paris annually spends between 25 and 30 billion CFA Francs (research institution subsidies included) of which a very large part is reimbursed by the Ivorian government on a deferred basis. The two countries, furthermore, signed a defense agreement in 1960 which explains the presence in Ivory Coast of a hundred officers and noncoms, particularly at the Bingerville EMPT and the Bouake military school, tasked with training Ivorian military cadres. Other sources make a much higher estimate of the French military presence.

The reassuring statements, too reassuring perhaps, of Ivorian and French diplomats do not appear totally convincing to observers. At least two facts which are difficult to refute back up the argument of those who believe there is uneasiness between the two countries.

The first matter is that certain initiatives taken in Paris--with the concurrence of Valery Giscard d'Estaing's entourage, it is said--concerning Houphouet-Boigny's succession and which might well precipitate it have finally managed to irritate and upset the Ivorian authorities.

No More Cocoa

The second development which has been reported is more serious. Some months after he had gathered the chiefs of state of the principal cocoa-producing countries together in March at Yamoussoukro, and he had assured himself of their complete support, the Ivorian president made a decision which was unexpected in Paris: to suspend the sale of cocoa so as to bring consumer countries around to paying a more equitable price. The calculations of experts were mere formalities: since the African countries involved control 80% of world production, Felix Houphouet-Boigny's bet was won in advance, on the condition of course that the solid support ran all the way and that none of the large African producers would provide supplies to the market. An Ivorian banker told us, "Now then, when the market trend was coming back in favor of the producers, an important central African producer, urged by Paris following pressures from chocolate manufacturers, sold 40,000 tons. The Ivorian economy would certainly not have borne this shock if it were not so diversified. Subsequently, Ivory Coast had to sell 80,000 tons of cocoa at a very low price. The dead loss: several tens of billions of CFA francs uncompensated for."

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The relations between the French and Ivorian governments are without a doubt on a comparative basis extremely close. In the eyes of informed observers this does not prevent certain Paris intrigues from being increasingly less understood in Abidjan. The criticisms regarding "the egoism of affluent countries" and the desire that "the expression 'Africa for Africans' not be an empty phrase" which are being expressed in Abidjan were to all appearances being aimed at the French capital.

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MALI

BRIEFS

COTTON PRODUCTION ESTIMATES--The 1979-1980 cotton production of Mali has been estimated at 150,000 tons of seed cotton, an increase of approximately 43 percent, despite the capricious rainfall. This was announced after the seventh session of the administrative council of the CMDT (Malian Textile Development Company), which met on 23 September under the chairmanship of Mr N'Fagnanama Kone, Malian minister of agriculture. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Oct 80 p 2615] 9671

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MAURITIUS

FOREIGN AID NEEDED AFTER FALL IN SUGAR PRODUCTION

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 31 Oct 80 p 2689

[Article: "Meeting in Paris of the Consultative Group: Foreign Aid Indispensable After the Fall in Sugar Production"]

[Text] A meeting of the Consultative Group for Mauritius was held 21-22 October in the European office of the World Bank in Paris presided over by Mr Willi A Wapenhans, vice-president of the World Bank's East Africa Regional Bureau.

Given the immediate balance of payments needs referred to in the request by the Mauritian Government, the meeting was organized in cooperation and close consultation with the International Monetary Fund. The delegation from Mauritius was led by Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, minister of finance, and included the minister of economic development and planning, the governor of the Bank of Mauritius, and other high-level representatives.

The participants at the meeting noted that Mauritius is at a turning point of its development. At the time of independence in 1968 Mauritius entered into a period of development crowned with remarkable success, the result of a strategy which entailed rapid growth in industry and tourism and was supported by the dominant sugar sector. Mauritius tried to and succeeded in satisfying the basic needs of its population better than many other countries, including countries which had reached higher income levels. The country chalked up an important success as well by significantly lowering its population growth rate.

But the economic growth of the beginning of the 1970's could not be continued. Both public and private demand exceeded available resources and the balance of payments deteriorated, reserves grew smaller, and the situation was aggravated by an international economic climate which had worsened. The government started by putting up with sizeable budget deficits, wages increased considerably, and Mauritian export industries lost some of their comparative advantage in markets where they had been newly introduced. The combination of these events brought on financial pressures and considerable pressures on the balance of payments as well as inflationary trends.

In 1979 the government embarked on a stabilization program with the financial support of the International Monetary Fund. This program was maintained in effect until the end of 1979. Then the brutal increase in petroleum prices and the

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damage caused by a series of unusual cyclones as well as the unfavorable weather conditions on Mauritius between December 1979 and March 1980 aggravated the serious economic problems and immediate balance of payments difficulties Mauritius was confronted with.

The cyclones brought a fall in sugar production in 1980. New estimates of the sugar harvest for 1980-1981 project a total production of 470,000 tons. This represents a decline of 200,000 tons compared to the 1979-1980 harvest and constitutes the main reason for the government of Mauritius's urgent request for balance of payments assistance.

A government program of measures intended to face up to the current difficulties and launch a program for recovery and structural changes has been submitted to the participants. The government has particularly stressed its desire to maintain a favorable climate for investment renewal and to stimulate production intended for export.

Because of the uncertainties associated with a one-crop economy like that of Mauritius which depends to a great extent on sugar, the main preoccupation of the government is to promote diversification in the structure of production. This must be accompanied by measures to create jobs and promote economic stability. It has been pointed out that success in instituting structural change will depend largely on the ability of the authorities to carry out the current stabilization program and on the supply of foreign aid to the balance of payments for the present financial exercise. Agreement was reached on the extent of external financing needed immediately and on the fact that this assistance should be granted under reasonable conditions.

The participants recognized that given the appropriate indebtedness capacity for Mauritius, the prudent management of its external debt, and its good prospects for recovery and growth, recourse which it had to capital markets should be kept moderate. The representatives present of countries and organizations expressed their support for the government's stabilization program and development effort.

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NAMIBIA

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING BUSHMEN IN NAMIBIA

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 3 Oct 80 p 2437

[Report: "The Bushmen, People Without Defense and Without Future"]

[Text] Recently Richard Lee, a Canadian ethnologist, launched an appeal in Quebec in favor of the Namibia bushmen whose survival is threatened, he said, by their systematic recruitment by the South African Army to fight the SWAPO (Southwest African People's Organization) guerrillas.

As we know, the bushmen are not African Negroes but the survivors of people with rather distinct physical features, communicating in click languages (clicking of the tongue, and so on, used as structural elements of words), who did not practice farming and who lived in southern Africa in very ancient times. They are known to the specialists as San and Lee emphasized that the bushmen who by his account total some 50,000 in the Kalahari Desert, divided between Namibia and Botswana, are "important to science, for they represent a way of life which was universal in the past." Enrolling in the South African army, they abandon their traditional way of life.

The ethnologist, whose intention it is to make the United Nations aware of the fate of this people whose language he speaks, believes that close to 2,000 bushmen have been recruited by the South African Army as pathfinders. In order to speed up their recruitment, Pretoria is using the traditional animosity between the bushmen and the neighboring Bantu-speaking people most of whom join the SWAPO forces.

However, the future of the bushmen is not threatened exclusively by the attitude of the South African army. Several months ago the GUARDIAN THIRD WORLD REVIEW provided a description of the situation in Botswana.

According to that source 25,000 of the 50,000 bushmen in southern Africa live in that country; 3,000 of them subsist from hunting and picking, in accordance with their traditional nomad way of life. Others hire out for the season or on a full time basis in livestock farms where they are frequently exploited. Many of them are paid no salary while others are paid the ridiculous amount of five pulas (about 25 French francs) monthly. Traditional bow and arrow hunting yields less game than in the past, for now other hunters, using rifles, are using the hunting grounds and because the measures recently taken in Botswana against foot-and-mouth disease have resulted in the displacement of game. The government's

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increase of water sources has furthermore increased the size of cattle herds, pushing other animals away. Finally, the 1979 drought affected the bushmen who received Red Cross aid and who are finding it difficult to resume their traditional way of life in droughty periods.

The land reform adopted by Botswana could deal a fatal blow to the bushman's civilization. The government has decided to divide the land into three sectors: The first will be for the big farms; the second will be the communal pastureland around the villages; the balance may be eventually used to develop agricultural and mining projects and will be the sanctuary of wild animals.

Having no legal right of ownership over the land they occupy, the bushmen will be necessarily "resettled" should the area they occupy and their hunting grounds happen to be in the zone reserved for large-scale farming.

This resettlement will be within the framework of an official program initiated in 1974 (Remote Area Development Program) according to which health care and education services will be provided to the relocated people, together with job possibilities, with no particular concern for the nomad bushmen who would blend with the rest of the population and would replace their language with Setswana (a Bantu language and English). A total of 160 bushmen are already living under these new circumstances in Bere, Ghanzi District.

This information was picked up by the periodical of an organization which is fighting for respect for the rights of aborigines, SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL, centered in London. Nevertheless, few people in the world are concerned with the fate of the bushmen in southern Africa, and their future under such circumstances, appears quite gloomy.

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NAMIBIA

STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF URANIUM IN NAMIBIAN STRUGGLE

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 29 Sep 80 pp 36-40

[Article by Augusta Conchiglia: "The Battle for Uranium"]

[Text] The intensification of the armed struggle remains the only effective means for attaining independence for putting an end to the policy of delays used by Pretoria, Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO [Southwest African People's Organization] claimed at the solidarity conference held in mid-September in Paris.

"Perhaps no other period would be so timely as today for the holding of this conference of solidarity with the Namibian people:" Such was the opinion of the majority of the participants in this conference held on 11, 12 and 13 September at the Paris UNESCO headquarters in the presence of representatives of governments, various organizations, and individual personalities; this was also the opinion of Kurt Waldheim, United Nations secretary general, who addressed a message of support to the conference from New York where the North-South "dialogue" was taking place.

Inaugurating the debates, Mohamed Sahnoun, the Algerian ambassador to France and secretary general of the conference, emphasized, in turn, that: "The plans of South Africa will be defeated by international public opinion and the United Nations who cannot let themselves be lulled indefinitely by make-believe negotiations which, obviously, and at least as far as Pretoria is concerned, have become a policy of delays."

"This international conference," he went on to say, "should precisely expose these tricks whose only result, alas, would be the shedding of even more blood wreckage and casualties."

This initiative, never before carried out on French territory, indeed took place in a particular set of circumstances. "Southern Africa has reached a turning point in its history," the final declaration adopted by the conference reads. "The South African racist regime is a major challenge to the entire international community which has assumed a particular responsibility in Namibia's case and has given its solemn pledge to the oppressed people of that country."

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It is precisely this special status of Namibia, considering the impotence of the United Nations to implement its resolutions, that has become an important trump card for the Western powers who are members of the Security Council and, therefore, who are also the signatories of these same resolutions. By becoming the accomplices of Pretoria's evasiveness such powers could, in fact, calmly continue to exploit Namibia's mineral resources which, as we know, are tremendous, particularly in the case of uranium. "By increasing their collaboration with the apartheid regime," the final declaration stipulates, "the Western powers have strengthened Pretoria's destructive power, undermined the effectiveness of the United Nations and aggravated the threat to the peace. Their tireless collusion with the racist regime, even after the expiration of Pretoria's mandate over Namibia, in 1966, and the 1971 consultative opinion issued by the International Court in The Hague, represents today the most important challenge to the authority of this international organization."

Ever More Mercenaries

The final declaration to be submitted by a delegation, headed by Ambassador Sahnoun to the United Nations General Assembly, which the solidarity conference held in Paris asks that it be held before 15 October, denounces in particular the responsibility of the West.

It emphasizes the fact that not only have the "five" done everything possible to avoid the creation of a situation consistent with the resolution of the Security Council on Namibia, but have contributed to the development of a far more serious crisis. "Despite the mandatory embargo of arms adopted against South Africa, these countries are continuing to supply it with military and technological materiel and to recruit and send a growing number of mercenaries," the declaration emphasizes.

In turn, Oliver Tambo, chairman of the ANC [African National Congress] for South Africa, who was the conference's guest of honor, recalled that Namibia is the only territory which, even though being under the tutelage of the United Nations over the past 60 years, is still not free.

"This territory," he said, "was the first and yet the only one which, placed under the responsibility of the international community (as were Togo, Cameroon, Tanganyika, and others), have had to wage a war of liberation against the mandate powers following the revocation of the mandate which the United Nations had given to Pretoria, and which directly assumed the responsibility for the administration and preparation for its access to independence." "The efforts of the 'contact group' of the five Western countries," he pointed out, "gave a new legitimacy to the South African regime on the issue of Namibia. From being a criminal, Pretoria became virtuous. South Africa is granting audiences to the representatives of the 'five.' They plead its case and call for its cooperation. It has been allowed to dictate its own conditions."

The role of the five powers was described as "sinister" by the ANC president and as "hypocritical" by Afonso Van-Dunem, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]--Labor Party whose foreign relations secretary he is. As chairman of the closing session, he emphasized the importance for the solidarity conference "to be held in a country which has

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close ties with the South African racist regime and which is part of the 'contact countries' on negotiations for Namibia's access to independence."

Let us recall that the credit for the organization of the solidarity conference in Paris goes to the initiative of the members of the committee for the support of the struggle against apartheid, both local and European, and the collaboration of UNESCO which put its very efficient facilities at the disposal of the conference; finally, the French leftist parties and trade unions also deserve credit, even though their help was quite indirect. Naturally, it was not expected that the Quai-d'Orsay or the "majority" parties would send official representatives to the conference. However, these circles are far from indifferent to the development of this important conference whose firm resolutions demand, among others, that the United Nations impose global and mandatory sanctions (including an oil embargo) on South Africa and alert public opinion to the fact that Windhoek's so-called constitutional measures are merely a prelude to a unilateral declaration of independence.

In 2 Years

Without minimizing the importance of the battle which is taking place in the United Nations to impose the exercise of the right of independence for the Namibian people or reject the principle of eventual direct meetings on a "bilateral basis" with the racist regime "should this lead to a resolution of current technical problems," the SWAPO, nevertheless, concluded, in the light of the analyses and documents submitted at the conference, that the armed struggle still remains the only effective means for reaching its targets.

Sam Nujoma, SWAPO president, even proclaimed his conviction that the struggle for liberation and the development of international solidarity--political, diplomatic and material--are such that, whatever happens, Namibia will be free in the next 2 years.

Obviously, however, the SWAPO leader is not hopeful as to the results of the initiatives of the Western countries. "Had the latter not blocked the situation," he noted, "a solution could have been found quite some time ago."

The Chirac Plan

However, several days after the conference a noted French personality, Jacques Chirac, mayor of the city of Paris and chairman of the RPR [Rally for the Republic] who, so far, had remained silent on the subject, summoned, on 19 September, a press conference to announce that France could sponsor within the shortest possible time negotiations on Namibia similar to the ones which had taken place in London on Zimbabwe. Openly criticizing the African policy of his country, the leader of the Gaullist Party proposed an ambitious plan aimed at reestablishing peace in Southern Africa and preparing the independence of Namibia on the basis of negotiations involving the participation of the five Western countries of the "contact group," the six of the Front Line, the SWAPO, South Africa and the puppet parties of the illegal Windhoek government.

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Also according to Jacques Chirac France should force South Africa to make a few positive gestures such as releasing the jailed SWAPO founders and join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Finally, the mayor of Paris let it be understood in his statements that the SWAPO may be agreeable to such a plan. At the time we were going to press no confirmation had been given on this subject. Nevertheless, the role which General de Gaulle's former collaborator would like France to play in this matter and, in general, apparently, in Africa could be considered progressive compared with the alignment with Washington and the Western ultra-conservatism in the face of the aggravation of tension in that part of the world. Nevertheless, we do not agree with Mr Chirac when, after submitting his plan, he suggests as a second stage of the settlement of problems in southern Africa, in addition to the abolition of apartheid and the introduction of the "majority rule," the conversion of South Africa into a federation of states one of which... would be white. It goes without saying that Jacques Chirac's suggestions, announced in the midst of a preelectoral campaign climate, are inspired by the fear of business circles of losing access to Namibia's huge strategic uranium resources should that country reach independence despite Western boycott.

Actually, this uranium, on whose subject the United Nations passed a decree which should have forced the Western companies to suspend their contracts, could bear a considerable weight on the attitude of the European powers, or on some of them at least, and favor the implementation of Namibia's right to independence.

The "Contact" Deception

In this respect the report submitted by Alun Robert was particularly important among the many documents and studies submitted at the Paris solidarity conference. Illustrating the mechanisms which govern Western political and economic interests in this area, the report showed the extent to which the West has directly and actively contributed to the perpetuation of South Africa's occupation of Namibia. The plundering of Namibia's strategic resources alone, recently investigated by the United Nations Council on Namibia, reveals the inefficiency of the negotiations undertaken by the "contact group" with Pretoria. As Alun Robert emphasizes, they were, in fact, nothing other than a "deception."

It was the desire to protect their interests that led the United States, Canada, France, the FRG and Great Britain to volunteer as mediators in the settlement of the Namibian problem--a mediation which benefited Pretoria alone. Everything possible was done to prevent the implementation of sanctions and contain the war of liberation waged by the SWAPO. Thus, instead of demanding the unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, the "contact group"--all members of the Security Council--granted Pretoria all its demands to the point, as Oliver Tambo emphasizes, "of eliminating the *raison d'être* of the Security Council itself, making it the servant of a criminal system and making it powerless in the face of flagrant violations of its resolutions."

The ridiculous results of the numerous and quite explicit resolutions passed by the United Nations led the chairman of the Council for Namibia to note, at the opening of the Paris solidarity conference, that "even if the efforts of the international community may have truly contributed to the consolidation of the

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legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people, under SWAPO leadership, on a global scale, it is above all the struggle of the Namibian people themselves that set forth the decisive conditions for the liberation of the territory and the building of a future free and independent Namibia."

A Tribal Army

While an illegal government is being set up at all speed in Windhoek--the holding of "administrative" elections having been decreed for next November throughout the country with the exception of the northern region where the struggle is too intense--Pretoria has expressed its willingness to resume negotiations for the implementation of the Western plan ratified by the United Nations.

In his last letter (29 August) to Kurt Waldheim, in answer to a proposal submitted by the United Nations secretary general on the subsequent implementation of the plan (repeatedly accepted and subsequently rejected by Pretoria in its essential features), R. Botha, the South African minister of foreign affairs claimed that the "partiality" of the international organization in favor of the SWAPO was a major obstacle to the plan's implementation. "It is equally essential," Botha claimed, "to include the leaders of the African southwest in all future consultations."

Meanwhile, the South African army has considerably increased its forces in Namibia, with the ever-growing support of the tribal army controlled by the so-called executive council headed by Dirk Mudge, head of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), engaged in carrying out Pretoria's plan for Namibia's Bantustanization. According to the United Nations Council for Namibia, these forces number between 75,000 and 100,000 soldiers.

In an effort to stop the SWAPO advance, the South African forces are multiplying their aggressive moves against Angola where, furthermore, they turn loose Savimbi's UNITA gangs. In his vigorously applauded speech Afonso Van-Dunem presented the Paris conference with the frightening results of aggressions perpetrated by South African forces between 27 March 1976, when the Angolan war ended, and 11 June 1979. The South African forces, said he, are using mainly French weapons (see below).

"South Africa," Oliver Tambo accurately noted, "used the 2 years it gained through such delays to kill and murder as many Africans and patriots as it could, whether in Namibia itself, in Zambia or in Angola. It could go on for another two years...." "The ANC [African National Congress]," he pointed out, "is aligned with the SWAPO," and its armed branches, the PLAN and Umkhonto we Sizwe, "will be henceforth able to bring Pretoria down on its knees."

In turn, Sam Nujoma praised the spectacular progress made by the sister South African organization which, through daring actions, struck at the vital economic and political centers of the Pretoria regime. "The independence of Zimbabwe," he also emphasized, "has eliminated, from the strategic point of view, yet another buffer zone at the borders of apartheid and exposed the enemy to the growing attacks of the South African liberation movement. Yesterday our southernmost line was the Zambezi; today it is the Limpopo."

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the SWAPO chairman considers 1980 a decisive year. Twenty years following the creation of the Organization for the Liberation of the Namibian people, and 14 years after the outbreak of the armed struggle, the progress has been such that "according to the enemy himself we have proved that we could no longer be militarily defeated and could be defeated politically even less," he concluded.

In addition to its diplomatic success (the Paris conference inaugural meeting was chaired by Mustapha Nyasse, Senegal's foreign affairs minister) together with its political successes (illustrated by Jacques Chirac's proposal), the SWAPO is preparing to intensify its armed struggle and deploy major counter-offensives. Under such circumstances, Pretoria's attempts to crush the resistance of the Namibian people and destroy the independence and territorial integrity of the most exposed countries of the Front Line are doomed to failure despite the major dangers to the area, providing that solidarity develops. In his speech, which was equally lengthily applauded, Isidoro Malmierca, Cuba's minister of foreign affairs, pointed out that South Africa should realize that should it continue to pursue and intensify its aggressive policy against its neighbors "it would not always face the Front Line countries alone."

A Weighty Balance

Between 27 March 1976 and 11 June 1979 South Africa's aggression against Angola has resulted in the death of 1,500 people (Angolans, Namibian refugees, South Africans) and damages assessed at over \$67 million.

During the 142 bombing raids and 452 border violations 326 people were killed and 336 wounded. Schools, hospitals, factories, bridges and roads were destroyed. The latest aggression, committed on 4 September in Kunene Province, left 31 civilians dead.

Uranium, A Trump Card

All Western countries are concerned with Namibian uranium either as extractors or consumers. The biggest deposits so far exploited, located in Rossing, 66 kilometers east of Swakopmund, are owned by the Rio Tinto Zinc Ltd. mining company, of British origin, and its South African partner, the IDC, a company for the industrial development of South Africa. These two enterprises which have set up the Rossing Uranium Ltd. (RTZ), undertook to mine the deposit in the mid-1960s and signed long-term delivery contracts with Great Britain (the biggest, calling for 7,500 tons between 1977 and 1982) and with nuclear power companies in France, the FRG and Japan. The 1973 petroleum price increases encouraged the RTZ to double its pace of extraction. It was planning, starting with 1976, to reach an output of 120,000 tons per year yielding 5,000 tons of uranium oxide. The stormy 1974-1975 period, marked in this area by the winning of their independence of the Portuguese colonies and the war in Angola, equally encouraged the Western companies involved in the extraction of Namibian mineral wealth, to speed up the process. A deeper search for uranium was undertaken and Rossing launched a project estimated at close to one billion French francs. However, geological conditions were quite unsuitable for such intensification and the 1977 miners' strikes hardly helped to correct the errors of the estimates. The target, which was 5,000 tons of extracted uranium, was reached after a 2-year

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delay and after a second financing totaling 200 million French francs. Air freight haulage was extensively used to catch up with delivery delays. The UTA, a French company, and the South Africa Company began regular shipments of uranium to Europe. However, after a very loud denunciation campaign opposing such means and the threat of a French trade union to block the unloading of uranium at air-ports, the air cargo contracts were nullified. However, according to testimony given in the course of the investigation conducted by the Council on Namibia, the UTA had received French government guarantees regarding the eventual consequences of said "secret" activities.

However, the reaction of the African countries--Nigeria, Algeria and Angola, in particular, having announced the contemplation of measures to insure that their territories would not be violated by uranium cargo flights--prevailed. The mineral is currently hauled by sea, mainly by a West German company which ships it to British and Belgian ports....

The investigation conducted by the United Nations Council for Namibia revealed that Euratom (the EEC atomic energy agency) has also concluded contracts for the purchasing of Namibian uranium. Furthermore, over the past 6 years a number of other companies have acquired prospecting rights in Namibia. The South African Mining Company, which has discovered deposits assessed at 60 million tons south-west of Rossing is in the lead. In Kaokoland the Falconbridge Company, representing Canadian interests, and Minatome, a branch owned jointly by the Total-CFP French company and by Elf-Aquitaine, are equally engaged in prospecting operations.

However, starting with 1966, when the United Nations General Assembly withdrew from South Africa its mandate over Namibia, assigned to it by the League of Nations, the administration of the territory was placed "under the direct responsibility of the United Nations," the Council for Namibia in particular. In 1969 the revocation of the mandate was approved by the Security Council which, immediately following Pretoria's refusal to leave Namibia, submitted the case to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Two years later, as we know, the court declared the presence of South Africa illegal and stated that all members of the United Nations should denounce uranium contracts and "abstain from any action, of any transaction in particular, involving the government of South Africa which could imply the recognition or the legality of its presence and its administration."

This, as was subsequently noted, hardly triggered any reaction on the part of the most important among Pretoria's economic partners. Confident of their strength, the Westerners knew that they could undermine any decision in favor of Namibian independence and did not worry excessively about the "claims of any future legal Namibian government," stipulated in Decree No 1 of the United Nations on safeguarding the country's natural resources. In 1974 the General Assembly ratified the decree which stipulates, in particular, that all drilling rights and mining concessions granted by South Africa "shall be considered null and void and have no force or effect."

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SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

SCOPE OF FRENCH, INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION REVIEWED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 24 Oct 80 p 2623

[Text] As we announced in our issue of 17 Oct 80, p 2559, the first meeting of the full joint Franco-São Tomian committee was held in São Tomé on 13 and 14 October.

This meeting, held in an atmosphere of cordiality, resulted in an agreement dealing mainly with three projects which will be financed by the FAC (Fund for Aid and Cooperation):

1. a rural development program dealing with surface [as published] and truck farming. Phase I will last from 1980-82;
2. establishment of a midlevel professional training center, known as a polytechnic center (1980-82);
3. French support for the production of school texts and teaching materials.

France will also offer São Tomé scholarships which will allow 30 or 40 São Tomian trainees to study in French institutions, as well as books and school supplies, which are the object of small-scale cooperative efforts now in progress.

The growing Franco-São Tomian cooperation should in time reach the same level as that of France with other lusophone states such as Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau.

International Aid to São Tomé

Besides French aid (see above), the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe is also receiving the following bilateral aid:

--Portugal--Approximately 40 Portuguese technical assistants work in São Tomé, essentially in the teaching sector. Cooperative fishing and communications agreements were signed in 1979, and Portugal has provided a large amount of aid to the extension of the runway of the São Tomé airport.

--Netherlands--Some operations are underway in the rural sector (agricultural equipment, small truck farming operations and breeding projects)

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--China--It has given loans on very favorable conditions for the supplying of goods and the financing of several projects (rice cultivation, building of small dams) and medical assistance on an important scale (about 15 doctors).

--USSR--The Soviet presence in São Tomé is important, especially because of its well-staffed embassy and approximately 100 experts.

--GDR--The number of East German experts has been estimated at around 30. They play a large role in assisting the leadership of the sole party, the MLSTP (Liberation Movement of São Tomé and Príncipe) and in the technical assistance to the Plan.

The GDR is also contributing towards a project to construct a ceramics factory.

--Cuba--Relatively numerous (estimated at about 200), the Cubans basically offer their support, apart from the military sector, in the areas of information and training.

The following organizations are providing multilateral aid:

--European Development Fund (FED)--São Tomé, a signatory of the Lomé I agreement in November 1978, receives European aid which has reached a total of about 6 million European units of account (1 unit of account = approximately 5.8 French Francs), including 4 million worth of aid in foodstuffs. The remainder of the financing is divided between agriculture (palm and coconut trees), infrastructure and training.

--United Nations Development Program (PNUD)--PNUD's various activities are carried out through the UN program for Sao Tome (technical cooperation, UN volunteers, United Nations Industrial Development Organization (ONUDI), UNESCO, World Health Organization (OMS), World Food Program (PAM), World Meteorological Organization (OMM), Universal Postal Union (UPU).

Financing for the projects planned for the five-year program (1977-1981) amounted to 1.65 million U.S. dollars; the greatest expenditures (0.7 million) are going towards assistance to the National Center for the Improvement of Agro-Pastoral Techniques.

--World Bank--Aid is planned in the areas of electricity, transportation and communication and for technical and training assistance.

--African Development Fund (FAD)--The first FAD loan was given in 1978 for the regeneration of cocoa plantations (the equivalent of about 9.35 million US dollars).

--African Development Bank (BAD)--After its first grant of technical assistance aid, the BAD has given a loan of about 1.35 million US dollars covering the costs in foreign currency of the first phase of the extension of the runway at the São Tomé airport.

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